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AS CHIANG HOPES FOR WAR

China gives terms for a peaceful end to crisis at Taiwan

By Kumar Goshal

CHINESE DEFENSE MINISTER Peng Teh-huai last week ordered Peking's forces on the Fukien coast to suspend the shelling of Quemoy for another two weeks, beginning Oct. 13, but to renew the bombardment "at once" if U.S. forces escorted Chiang Kai-shek's supply vessels to the offshore island.

Peng dismissed Chiang's charge that the cease-fire was "a trick" and indicated that Peking was fully capable of blockading Quemoy at will. He said the Quemoy garrison could receive from Taiwan food as well as military equipment because "we are free to fight when we want to fight and stop when we want to stop."

He noted Chiang's opposition to the U.S. speaking for him at Warsaw and again emphasized that "Americans in Taiwan and the Taiwan Strait must go home" because they represented not even the Chinese in Taiwan and "have no reason to hang on there." He said that the majority of the Chinese on the offshore islands and on Taiwan "are patriots, only a few are traitors," and urged "political work" to enable the majority "to wake up gradually and to isolate the handful of traitors."

CHINA'S OFFERS: It became known last week that China had passed the word along to the U.S. through Norway that it would be willing to keep a cease-fire to let Chiang get his forces off Quemoy, leaving the question of Taiwan for later negotiation. Peking was also willing to agree to a mutual renunciation of force in the entire area. India had also hinted in the UN of similar offers by China.

However, it was reported that the U.S. at Warsaw had proposed a cease-fire to be followed by a reduction of Chiang's forces on Quemoy. The proposal, the N.Y. **Times** said, left the Chinese negotiators "uncertain whether [renunciation of force] should apply to the entire Taiwan area or solely to Quemoy." The **Times** added:

"The Communists were so irritated by the U.S. proposal that they withdrew their first proposal and submitted a second calling for the withdrawal of U.S. naval, sea and air forces from the entire area."

THE STEPS AHEAD: Marshal Peng's Oct. 13 order indicated the steps China saw as necessary to resolve the Taiwan Strait crisis. These involved (1) uniting the offshore islands with the mainland to end the harassment of Chinese shipping; (2) negotiations with the U.S. to eliminate Washington's interference in the Chinese civil war; (3) uniting Taiwan with the mainland through persuasion.

Demand for the restoration of the offshore islands to China increased considerably in the U.S. last week. On Oct. 10, nine faculty members of Columbia University and the Union Theological Semi-

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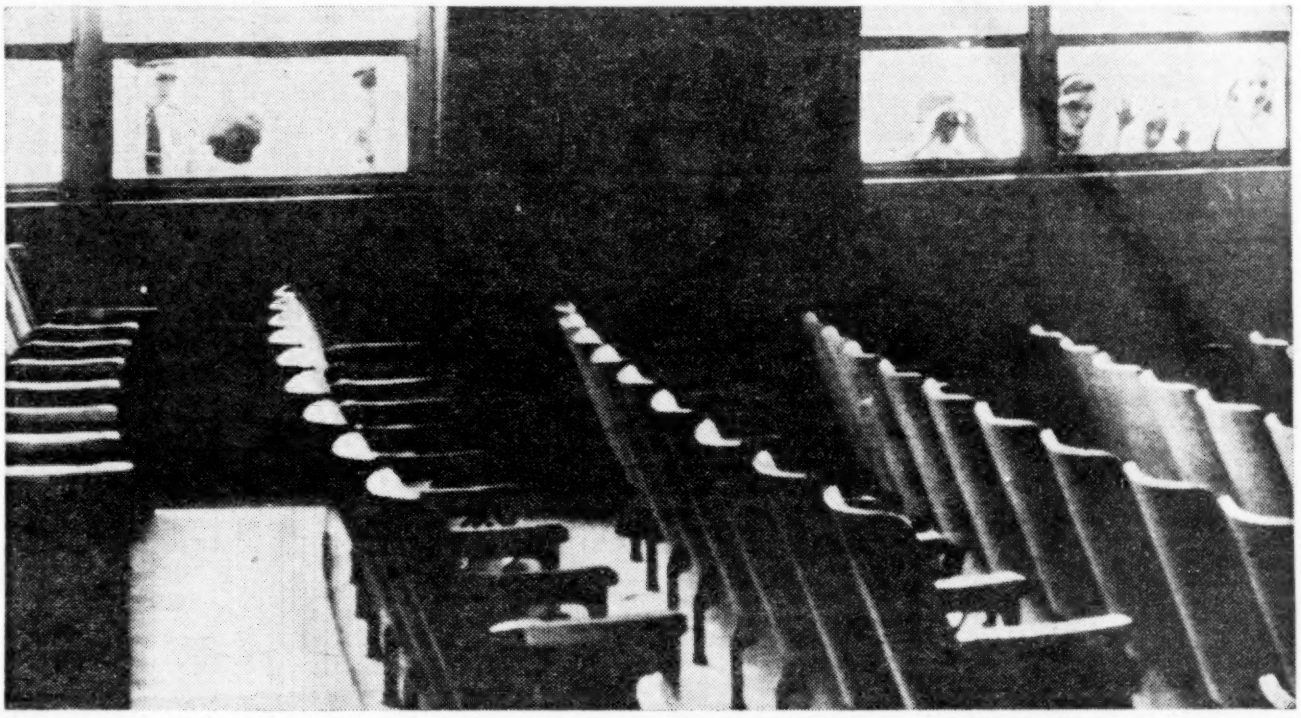
Herblock in Washington Post
"It worked fine as long as nobody asked, 'or else what'?"



NORFOLK: EMPTY SEATS IN AN EMPTY SCHOOL CLOSED BY EMPTY MINDS
A school is bombed in Clinton, Tenn.; a synagogue is dynamited in Atlanta, Ga. What produces such monstrous behavior? For one answer, see Louis Burnham's story on Harry Byrd's Virginia on page 7.

ACLU ENTERS NEW YORK CASE

DeSapio rules independents off ballot; fight in court

THE AMERICAN Civil Liberties Union last week joined the fight to maintain a place on the New York State ballot for the Independent-Socialist Party. The National and New York City offices of the ACLU declared their intention to join the court battle immediately after the office of Secy. of State Carmine DeSapio ruled against the party's listing on the ballot.

DeSapio's ruling rested on objections to 23 signatures out of the 27,000 on the I-SP petitions. Fifteen of the signatures checked completely with the registration books in one of three challenged counties but DeSapio claimed that the addresses listed were "incomplete." Witnesses to eight other signatures had written the word "same" in the address column on the petition, then crossed it out, put in their correct address but failed to initial the change. The eight signatures, if disallowed by the Courts, would reduce the nominating signatures in two counties to below the required 50 signatures.

The party at once invoked a "show cause" order obtained last month in State Supreme Court to force DeSapio to grant the party its place on the ballot. It was this action that the ACLU declared it would support. Hearings were about to be held at GUARDIAN press time.

RIGHT TO VOTE: The ACLU statement said: "Both Federal and State Constitutions guarantee to every qualified citizen the right to vote. A party's right to a place on the ballot bears directly on the right to vote. If a party is kept off the ballot, its adherents are compelled to vote—if they vote at all, or unless they

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AN EDITORIAL STATEMENT FOR VOL. 11, NO. 1

A job of work for the next ten years

THE NOW-DIMMED SLOGAN of the 1948 Presidential campaign into which the NATIONAL GUARDIAN was born, was "Progressive Capitalism." For the sake of getting the show on the road, everybody in that campaign went along with it, but nobody who was anybody believed it. One of us once asked Henry Wallace whether he didn't think it was a contradiction in terms. He didn't say yes or no, but conceded that he had never met a progressive capitalist—any more than as a farmer he had ever met a purple cow.

That campaign had little more than two weeks to go when the GUARDIAN came into being with Volume 1, Number 1, with a founding statement which backed the Wallace-Taylor Progressive Party for '48, but looked for something more promising later on than the prospect of progressive capitalism. We just can't imagine that slogan emblazoned on banners at the head of a political parade.

What the GUARDIAN's founders believed in—and still believe in—is reprinted on page 2, under the headline "Ten years ago in the GUARDIAN"—proprietorship of the nation's wealth by those who produce it; and people's rights eternally above property rights.

THE BIG QUESTION most frequently put to us during the ten years since 1948 has been: Why doesn't the GUARDIAN identify itself as a socialist paper?

And, in the light of the GUARDIAN's unfailing defense of socialism as a way of life in one-third of our

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THE MAIL BAG

Terrific Ten Fund?

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Your current editorial is modest and moving. To your question—"Will you be with us in the next Ten?"—I wish to underscore my emphatic **"Yes"** with the enclosed $10, and the hope that as many readers as possible will respond with the same token. Is it too much to expect that we could build a Terrific Ten Fund?

Yours for multiflowering decades to come. **Eve Merriam**

Separate the issues

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Refusal to seat Communist China is, I believe, a serious mistake. However, it is totally disgraceful and farcical to permit the Chiang Kai-shek remnant to speak and to vote in the UN as the Chinese people. The UN would not permit Peron or Jiminez, ousted dictators, to vote on behalf of Argentina and Venezuela. If the questions of unseating Chiang and seating Mao were separated, many who are unwilling to seat Mao for a variety of reasons would vote not to accept Chiang's credentials as representative of China. This could be a significant step in the right direction. **Aaron Katz**

Sermon on survival

SOUTH GATE, CALIF.

The flowering of the atomic age—symbolized by the malignant mushroom cloud of the H-bomb—has brought a qualitative change in the relationship of Man to his environment, destroying and rendering obsolete certain social processes and concepts, chief of which is capitalism with its anarchy, greed and obscurantism, with its inevitable compulsion to imperialism and war. Secondly there is warfare itself, both "good" war and "bad" war, imperialist war and revolutionary war, the latter replaced by various forms of "passive" people's resistance.

Atomic energy concerns all mankind; it is not a profit-making device of General Electric nor the trigger-toy of a Dulles or a Knowland. The general increase in radioactivity, fallout, the disposal of atomic waste, and, finally, the total destructive power of nuclear weapons emphasizes the fact that we will have to use our brains collectively whether we want to or not.

Certainly, the Lebanon affair, swiftly followed by the Quemoy crisis, is ample evidence of a qualitative speedup in social processes; the elements of anarchy and destruction outracing those of cooperation and social planning.

Those who persist in slow evolutionary processses such as joining the Democratic Party and leisurely converting and evolving to some sort of labor party—when the labor leaders are ready for it—and thence, through various other stages, to eventual socialism, are living in a slow-horse-and-buggy dream, completely unaware that history has outleaped them.

I have heard it said that the American people are subjectively unprepared for socialism. If this be so, then it is a situation which must be changed in a hurry. Survival, to paraphrase, is the recognition of necessity. It is urgent that a new party or movement be formed dedicated to convincing the American people that for the first time in history they are faced with the choice of either obliterating themselves and their world or living in that high state of reason and abundance which has long been the dream of poets and philosophers. **Dana Platt**

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

She [Mrs. La Ville Odenbrett] added that she considered William Heikkila's mother a Communist "because she used the word and anyone who uses that word must have some belief in it."
—San Francisco **Chronicle**, Oct. 7.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: P.E., San Francisco, Calif.

Judge not . . .

CLEVELAND, OHIO

We should not judge people on the basis of a single factor. For example: Philosopher George Santayana was a Catholic and at the same time claimed to be an atheist, and I have known atheists who were staunch capitalists. I am not an atheist but I agree with many atheists who are not capitalists. **Julius A. Sobon**

Methodists show way

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

About your article (Oct. 6) on the Oregon chapter of the Methodist Fedn. for Social Action drawing up a full peace program with such speed: compare it with our own Northern Calif. Independent Political Action group. This latter timid approach seems to indicate a complete misunderstanding of the temper of the American people and a most demoralized condition of our left-wingers who cannot agree and unite on a vigorous and militant program for socialism.

Perhaps these Methodists and "others on the outside" will show us the way. All power to them! **Ted Molter**

Preparing the way

CARLISLE, PA.

I don't consider the Independent-Socialist ticket a labor party or third party but I do think it is preparing the way for such, just as the Debs Socialist Party, the La Follette movement, the ALP and Wallace movement have helped prepare the way. My own concept of how the I-SP is helping to prepare the way for a Labor Party based on the trade unions is that it is able to reach over and through the union bureaucrats by TV, radio and other means directly to the rank and file in their homes. **George Larrabee**

Printer's brink

BRONX, N.Y.

John Foster Dulles could not have spread such a crafty net of deceit over the American people without the assistance of most of our newspapers which led us to believe that his motives in bringing us to the brink of World War III so frequently were for the good of our country. **Miriam Stern**

Eccles in London Worker

"Gentlemen, we are falling behind our competitors. They fired 300 more than we did last month."

On plebiscites

NEW YORK, N.Y.

If the plebiscite of an Arkansas city of 100,000 to revoke the 14th Amendment of our Constitution were recognized as lawful, we could not object if Jackson, Miss., revokes the 13th Amendment and re-introduces slavery, or Yonkers, N. Y., revokes the 16th Amendment and abolishes payment of federal income tax.

It is time to consider a serious plebiscite of the American people: Are we willing to fight a war, not against six colored children, but against 600 million colored people in Asia, for Quemoy and Chiang? **John H. Beck**

Help for Clinton

NEW YORK, N.Y.

On Oct. 6 the peacefully-integrated high school at Clinton, Tenn., was wrecked by dynamite; and people of democratic and humanitarian principles saw how a degrading purpose, which has been sought in the guise of legalism at Little Rock and elsewhere, could be achieved at Clinton by utter violence and lawlessness. If our constitutional government is to endure, such violence most not go unchecked. And the damage must surely be repaired.

The people at Clinton face the pressing practical problem of where to educate the school's 870 pupils — 859 white and 11 Negro. The Anderson County Tenn., school board (according to news reports) estimates that damage to the bomb-smashed buildings amounted to more than $300,000, of which only $73,000 is covered by insurance.

Today the Bill of Rights Fund, of which I am chairman, sent the school board a grant of $250 towards the construction of new school buildings. I want to urge others to make similar contributions for the same purpose. Donations should be sent to the Anderson County School Board, Clinton, Tenn. **Corliss Lamont**

Ten years ago in the Guardian

THE EGG AND US—By Henry A. Wallace on his return from campaigning in the South. Wallace wrote: "To be assaulted with eggs is not so grave as a lynching."

HOW TO BUILD A DEWEY—A satire by James Dugan on the 1948 build-up of Thomas E. Dewey as Republican presidential candidate. Sample detail: "The inventors resisted impulses to fix Dewey to whistle like a choo-choo and play a tin banjo; but they did put in a coin slot and trained the hands to hold a pitch fork . . ."

A FOUNDERS' STATEMENT, signed by James Aronson, Cedric Belfrage and John T. McManus, which said in part:

"We believe that the world's greatest productive machine has been created in America by the people of America, out of their own resources; that monopoly's increasing grip on that machine threatens the security of farmer, small businessman and wage-earner alike; and that all these must combine to carry forward the great American political tradition—the battle against concentration of private power.

"We believe that our country's resources should be used to create an abundant life for the people who developed them, with freedom and opportunity for all. We believe that the interests of property should never and nowhere be respected above the interests of people."

—**GUARDIAN, Oct. 18, 1948.**

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Vol. 11, No. 1 401 October 20, 1958

AN EDITORIAL STATEMENT

A job of work

(Continued from Page 1)

world today, and of the right to advocate and teach socialism here, the question remains a most appropriate one.

That the GUARDIAN is a pro-socialist paper should not be in doubt. We said it this way in a political editorial in our issue of Jan. 10, 1955:

". . . The peoples of the world have taken tremendous strides in the past ten years [since the end of World War II] —against colonialism and exploitation, toward self-determination and toward socialism. They will not be contained or set back.

"Any enlightened view of peaceful coexistence, therefore, must be based on the comprehension that more acceptable ideas than capitalism are sweeping the world and in time coming our way—and must be met with full understanding. It is not conceivable that in peaceful competition, exploitation will win out over economic equality . . ."

In this context we cited Hershel D. Meyer's statement in his book of that period, **The Last Illusion**, that "the world camp of socialism is offering shrinking world capitalism an orderly retreat—coexistence, peaceful competition, profitable trade relations, and the abolition of wars of aggression."

So the GUARDIAN sees socialism coming our way, urges coexistence with it wherever it now exists, and believes this implies sympathetic understanding and study of its application for our own country's welfare:

Why not come right out with it, as a matter of policy?

OUR ANSWER IS that the socialism we are for, here in our own country, is the socialism still to be planned and proposed by and for the people of the United States. We approve in principle and defend the existence of the socialist societies of the rest of the world. We cannot and do not approve every act of these societies but we believe, with Dr. DuBois and Anna Louise Strong, that they are wielding the instrument of socialism well for the good of humanity. And, parenthetically, we differ profoundly with those who contend that the instrument they wield is not socialism.

But to label ourselves socialist implies listing the ingredients on the label, and the formula for America is still to be compounded.

WE SHALL DO OUR BEST to help compound that formula—and this you may consider our program for the new decade upon which the GUARDIAN embarks with this issue, Volume 11, Number 1.

We shall fight to nullify the Smith Act, the McCarran and Brownell laws, the Taft-Hartley law and all others which we conceive to have been set up, not for the security of our Republic, but to silence those who would deliver it to the proprietorship of the people for their own welfare.

We believe a special fight must be mounted against the Walter-McCarran law, which threatens all our foreign-born and their families—a total of some 40,000,000 Americans—for engaging in nonconformist political activity.

We shall do all in our power to mobilize those we can reach in the fight to end the terror against and establish full equality in every level of our society for the Negro people and all other minorities.

We shall continue to fight to free political prisoners such as Morton Sobell, the Taft-Hartley victims who are in jail or under prosecution, and Green and Winston, the remaining Smith Act prisoners.

We shall fight restrictive election laws which limit the political argument in our country to that engaged in by the two old parties; and we shall continue to press for a coming-together of Americans toward a common program which will make socialist politics meaningful to the American people.

We shall do our best to change the political climate of our country to make it receptive to new ideas, and will do all we can to bring new ideas to the people we reach. But the label remain unchanged.

—**NATIONAL GUARDIAN, the progressive newsweekly**

THE CALENDAR IS CROWDED AND CRUCIAL

New integration pleas reach Supreme Court

THE U.S. SUPREME COURT convened in a combative mood on Oct. 6. It had met the massed artillery barrage of Congressmen, state justices and segregationist politicians with a tough, sweeping integration decision in its special Little Rock session in September. For its regular session it faced more than 390 new appeals that had accumulated during the summer. They ranged from the question of banning Sunday movies to key aspects of school integration. On some the Court acted quickly and decisively.

LOUISIANA COLLEGES: Segregation in Louisiana colleges was up for a definitive test. One state law required all college applicants to be certified as eligible by their high schools. Another law said that no state official shall promote racial integration within the school system under penalty of dismissal—which means that no principal will certify a Negro applicant for a white college. Lower courts had held that the laws violated the U.S. Constitution which "nullifies sophisticated as well as simple-minded discrimination." Under court order some 300 Negro students have been enrolled in four state colleges. The Court refused to consider Louisiana's appeal, in effect upholding the lower courts.

Herblock in Washington Post
"I'll have the law on you!"

ALABAMA AND DELAWARE: The NAACP is appealing a lower court ruling which found Alabama's segregationist pupil placement law constitutional.

Delaware's school system was up for scrutiny along with those of the Deep South. In Delaware integration had gone so smoothly that two years after the original integration decision more than half of the state's schools included Negro pupils. The State had left the matter up to local boards of education but, when segregationists stirred trouble, the local boards handed the hot potato back to the state, insisting that only the State Board of Education should desegregate the schools. When Negro students contested the case, the lower courts ordered the state board to come up with a desegregation plan. The Supreme Court refused to consider the state board's appeal.

VIRGINIA AND NAACP: Virginia's moves to suppress the NAACP may get a definitive ruling. Last winter a special three-judge Federal court threw out statutes designed by several legislatures to put the NAACP out of business. The Court agreed to review Virginia's appeal.

FAUBUS APPEAL: Arkansas Gov. Faubus asked the Court to over-rule the lower court injunction forbidding him to use the National Guard or take similar steps to enforce segregation. In his brief the Governor charged that Federal Judge Ronald N. Davies, who issued the injunction, was prejudiced against him. The Court refused to review the injunction.

It rejected another petition to declare unconstitutional a Florida statute giving juries the right to recommend the death penalty in rape cases. The brief pointed out that in 20 years the only ones executed for rape have been Negroes.

CONTEMPT CASES: The witch-hunt is to be tested in a series of cases. Lloyd Barenblatt, former Vassar College instructor who refused to answer questions on Communist affiliations before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, is appealing from a contempt sentence.

So is Abram Flaxer, former president of the United Public Workers of America, who refused to turn over union records to the Senate Internal Security subcommittee in 1951.

In a similar case pacifist Willard Uphaus is contesting his contempt conviction for refusal to give the New Hampshire attorney general a list of those who stayed at the New Hampshire World Fellowship Center.

A Quaker, David Scull, is appealing his contempt conviction for refusal to testify before a Virginia legislative committee. There is a similar appeal from Emmett Calvin Brown, Thomas Raley and Joseph Stern, who declined to answer questions by an Ohio Un-American Activities Committee.

OFF-SHORE OIL: The question of the off-shore oil fields is up again. The Federal government has long maintained full rights to everything beyond the three-mile limit. Texas and other states along the Gulf of Mexico demand full rights up to a $10\frac{1}{2}$ mile limit.

A "SPY" CASE: Col. Rudolf Ivanovich Abel, who confessed to an espionage charge in a blaze of publicity, is appealing his conviction on a point that could curb Immigration Department agents. He holds that the warrant issued for his arrest for deportation did not entitle immigration inspectors to search his room for evidence of espionage. The Court agreed to review the case.

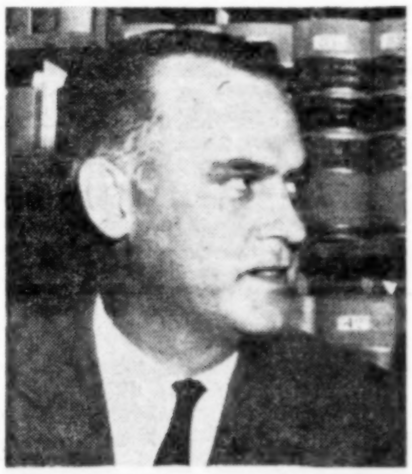
UNION QUIZ: As an echo to the McClellan committee's noisy labor probe, the government has appealed from a lower court ruling to the effect that the Senate Permanent Investigations Committee had no right to quiz teamster official Frank N. Brewster. Review was denied.

Labor also has an interest in a case testing the policy of the Natl. Labor Relations Board to deny itself any jurisdiction in the hotel industry.

BLUE LAWS: The Court ruled out an attack on Pennsylvania's blue laws. The state law allows local communities to ban Sunday movies. That ban was being challenged on the contention that freedom of speech and press applies to movies and is to be defended seven days a week.

This is Mr. Justice Stewart

THE PRESIDENT went back to Ohio for a Supreme Court justice to replace retiring Justice Harold H. Burton. He is Potter Stewart, 43, of Cincinnati, a member of the U.S. Sixth Court of Appeals, youngest to be named since Justice Douglas was appointed at 40 by President Roosevelt in 1939. A graduate of Yale College and Yale Law School, he is the son of an Ohio Supreme Court justice who was a former mayor of Cincinnati; the younger Stewart was for several years a member of the Cincinnati City Council. Eisenhower's fifth appointment, he is the fourth to be named from a lower court; Chief Justice Warren is the exception.



POTTER STEWART
Philosophy? He doesn't know

HIS EXPERIENCE: It is limited to 296 cases; the Supreme Court averages something over 1,000 cases a term. He was named to the Sixth Circuit in 1954. Before going on the bench he was a junior partner in a law firm which numbered among its clients Procter & Gamble.

HIS PHILOSOPHY: "I really don't know what it is. I'd like to be thought of as a lawyer." His name was proposed by Sen. Bricker (R-O.) although it was said the Justice Dept. already had its eye on him. A friend of the late Sen. Taft, he said he could see no conflict between the Taft philosophy and Eisenhower's "modern Republicanism." He has also expressed admiration for President Roosevelt's "recognition of the individual and his rights."

HIS DECISIONS: He has dissented in only ten of the 296 cases he has participated in. Among the dissents:

● **The Henderson Case,** in which a Negro, James Henderson, arrested on a charge of rape in 1942 and sentenced to life in Michigan, lost an appeal from a denial of habeas corpus. Henderson was arrested on the afternoon of Aug. 5, 1942. By 11 p.m. that day, Stewart said in his dissent last year, "he had been sentenced to prison for the rest of his life."

● **A Taft-Hartley case,** in which he denied that a labor union could be deprived of Federal facilities because a non-Communist affidavit filed by its head at an earlier time might have been false. The U.S. Supreme Court upheld his point of view in reversing the Sixth Court's ruling.

Among his assents:

● **The Hillsboro, O., school case,** (1956), in which he voted with the majority for immediate integration of the elementary schools.

● **The Torre case,** in which Marie Torre, a columnist of the N.Y. **Herald Tribune,** sentenced to ten days on a charge of criminal contempt for refusing to disclose a news source, lost an appeal. The Second Circuit Court (on which Stewart was sitting as a vacation transfer) did concede that a freedom of the press issue might be involved. The case is being appealed to the Supreme Court.

Ever take a look through your campaign speeches, Ike?

WE MUST avoid the kind of bungling that led us into Korea and could lead us into others. The young farm boys must stay on their farms; the students must stay in their schools.

We are waging a war far from our shores . . . We do not want Asia to feel that the white man of the West is his enemy. If there must be a war there, let it be Asians against Asians.

—Dwight D. Eisenhower
Oct. 2, 1952

JUNIUS IRVING SCALES
His defense: the Constitution

SMITH ACT TOLL

Scales appeal lost; 'membership' case goes to High Court

A SECOND TRIAL conviction of Junius Irving Scales under the Smith Act membership clause was upheld by the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals sitting in Richmond, Va., on Oct. 6. The unanimous decision also reaffirmed a six-year sentence against Scales, a former Communist Party leader in the Carolinas.

Scales' first conviction was reversed by the Supreme Court on the grounds that the government at the trial withheld pertinent FBI reports from informers used as witnesses. The reversal was based on the Supreme Court's own earlier ruling in the Jencks case. The Jencks decision was later modified and restricted by Congress.

TO APPEAR AGAIN: Scales' defense argued that the membership clause of the Smith Act violates the Constitution by abridging freedoms guaranteed in the First and Fifth Amendments and is founded upon a concept of guilt by association without unlawful activity. But the appeals court ruled that "the activities [conspiracy] of such a group constitute a clear and present danger to the state and he who joins with open eyes becomes a party to all that he sees."

It is expected that the Scales case will again be appealed to the Supreme Court.

Other Smith Act membership clause cases are the following:

● **Claude Lightfoot** of Chicago, whose conviction was reversed by the Supreme Court together with the Scales case, but who has not yet been retried.

● **John Hellman** of Montana, whose conviction is now being appealed.

● **Dr. Albert Blumberg,** who was convicted in Philadelphia in 1955 but never sentenced; a motion for a new trial is still under advisement.

● **John Noto** of Buffalo whose 1955 conviction is on appeal.

● **Max Weiss** of Chicago and **Joseph Russo** of Boston who have been indicted but not yet tried.

The one membership case disposed of is that of Emanuel Blum of Indiana. His case was called to trial immediately after the Supreme Court's decision in the Scale and Lightfoot case and the government moved for dismissal of the charge. He was freed.

ST. LOUIS CASE DROPPED: On Oct. 10 the government decided "reluctantly" to drop further prosecution of five persons in St. Louis on a Smith Act charge of conspiring to overthrow the government by force. The five were convicted four years ago but a retrial was ordered.

BEHIND THE CHANGES IN THE REPUBLIC

New Iraq government wins a major battle for democracy

The new government of Iraq, which the U.S. first condemned and tried to overthrow and then hastily recognized, continues to puzzle the American press and the Eisenhower Administration. The N.Y. Times finds the Qassem government adhering to a neutralist policy; the N.Y. Herald Tribune believes Baghdad is showing signs of being "a rival center of power to Cairo's," and thinks "this trend may well be an indirect dividend of the landing of Allied troops in Lebanon and Jordan."

The Times reports one day that Premier Qassem has demoted Deputy Premier Colonel Arif and was sending him to West Germany as Ambassador. The next day it says that Arif was under house arrest for attempting an armed coup, and on the following day quotes an Iraqi official denying the report.

The Times' Washington correspondent sums up by saying that U.S. government officials find the Iraqi regime "mysterious" because "nearly three months after the revolution little is known about Premier Qassem's policies or about the identity and ideas of his personal entourage." In the following article, GUARDIAN *staff correspondent Tabitha Petran, now in Baghdad, deals with the background, policy and personnel of the present Iraqi government.*

COL. ARIF, IN HELICOPTER, WAS CHEERED IN AUGUST
Today developing democracy in Iraq has pushed him aside

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent

BAGHDAD

RECENT GOVERNMENT changes here represent a victory for the democratic forces and the resolution of an internal battle, often intense, which has been going on since the new government took office.

Where this controversy was argued openly, it has centered on the question of federation versus union with the United Arab Republic. But the real issue was whether or not the new Republic was to develop towards genuine democracy.

With the removal of Col. Abdul Salam Arif as Deputy Premier and Minister of Interior, of Baathist genl. secy. Fuad Rikabi as Minister of Development, and Omar Jabr as Minister of Education, the question has been answered in the affirmative. (Arif was named Minister to Bonn, Rikabi becomes a Minister of State without portfolio. Brigadier Ahmed Yahya, a member of the Free Officers group close to Qassem, takes over as Minister of Interior. The present Minister of Finance, Mohammed Hadid, becomes acting Minister of Development, and the Minister of Agriculture, Hadib Haj Hamoud, becomes acting Minister of Education.)

THE BACKGROUND: The significance of the battle now resolved grows out of the background of the Revolution itself.

The government which took office July 14 was roughly representative of the National United Front which was organized by the underground political parties in the wake of the 1956 uprising at the time of Suez. This Front embraced:

- Two parties representing the national and petty bourgeoisie: a splinter group from Istiqlal (originally made up of bourgeoisie who had once been favorably impressed with Nazism) and the National Democratic Party representing the more progressive bourgeoisie. The National

Democrats, calling themselves "democrats and socialists," are led by Kamal Chaderji, Grand Old Man of Iraqi politics and called by some Iraq's Sun Yat-sen. (An attempted merger of these two parties into the National Conference Party proved unsuccessful and was subsequently abandoned.)

- Al Baath (Arab Socialist Renaissance), another petty bourgeois party with some influence among students but very weak.
- The Communist Party, the oldest in Iraq, and the only one with a real organization and with a base among peasants and workers. Founded in 1934, it has always been illegal. Its actual membership is probably not large but great numbers have fought and now fight under its banners.

ATTEMPTED SPLIT: The government named by Brigadier Qassem, who led the revolt, included two members of the Istiqlal: its president Mahdi Kubba, a member of the Sovereignty Council, and Sadiq Sanshal, Minister of Information; two National Democrats, in the Ministers of Finance and Agriculture: a Baathist, Rikabi, and a Baathist sympathizer, Jabr in Education. The Communist Party was not represented. But Ibrahim Kubba, Minister of Economics, is considered to be, if not a Marxist, at least familiar with Marxist concepts.

The majority in the government and among the people clearly considered continuation of the United Front necessary to carry through the Revolution. But vested interests, desperate to preserve the status quo, and frightened by the strength of the democratic forces, saw their only hope in splitting the United Front and isolating the Left. Their attack was spearheaded by the Baathists and—wittingly or unwittingly—by Col. Arif, hero of the take-over in Baghdad, who had become vice premier, acting Minister of Interior, and Asst. Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces.

These interests exerted pressure to halt the release of Communist political prisoners. Their rallying cry became immediate union with the U.A.R.—not in the interests of Arab unity but as a means to put down the democratic and popular forces here. They demanded dissolution of political parties and creation of a one-party National Union set-up on the Egyptian model.

PEOPLE ANGERED: While other ministers were tackling the tremendous problems inherited from the old regime, Arif stumped the country preaching a mystical no-class no-party message with scarcely-veiled attacks on progressive forces. At first, the people were genuinely shocked by this demagogy, then angered.

Tension mounted as Arif in his capacity as Interior Minister closed down one newspaper after another in which progressives tried to present their views. Resentment was especially great because the only new paper licensed, **Al Joumourhia**, peddled the Baathist line and for some issues carried Arif's name on the masthead; and meanwhile Chaderji could not get a license to publish his **Ahali** (The People) which was renowned throughout the Arab world before its suppression in 1954, and after former democratic publishers were equally unsuccessful. The ban on meetings and organizations became more than galling as people realized these restrictions were giving reaction time to regroup and prepare a comeback. The pretext unofficially given for these restrictions by their proponents—that "the Americans wouldn't like it" and Anglo-American forces were nearby—hardly made them more acceptable.

NO EXPLOSION: If the tension did not explode, it was due largely to the discipline and maturity of the people and to their confidence in Prime Minister Qassem. He himself had little to say publicly during this period but what he said was important. Placed under great pressure to make some anti-Communist move, he replied in sum: "We are all Iraqis. The old regime made this concept of subversion. We will not emulate them. The way to combat alien ideologies, from whatever source, is by raising the cultural and living standards of our people."

To rank-and-file delegations who told him the people wanted federation, not union, he said he realized that this was the sentiment of the nation and the people's will would be respected. "I personally follow the plan which seems to me expressive of the will of the people and all its classes," he said. On the many who demanded lifting the restrictions on meetings and organizations, he urged patience. He told one delegation:

"I'm a military man and do things according to plan. I put one foot forward and then wait and see if the ground is safe and secure. If it is, I put the other foot forward. If it isn't, I pull the first foot back and begin again."

A BATTLE WON: People may have felt that Qassem was over-cautious but they realized that he was feeling his way step by step, trying to understand problems before taking decisions and to avoid any split in the army or government which the imperialist powers could exploit. Ordinary people could and did get to see Qassem and came away convinced he "has a feeling for working people," and that his greeting to them: "I am your brother and your servant," had real meaning.

Yet tension had almost reached the explosion point before Qassem quietly removed Arif from his post in the Army some weeks ago. After a tense 48 hours in which people felt "anything could happen" but nothing did—except for some minor Baathist demonstrations which were quickly put down—the situation began to ease. Even the Baathists, under pressure from other elements in the government and in face of the strong public reaction against them, had indicated willingness, before the government changes, to return to the united front.

Now the further changes have been greeted here with relief and great enthusiasm. It is expected that restrictions on meetings, political parties, mass organizations and the press will soon be lifted, and that the people's energies will be mobilized to carry through necessary basic reforms. Democrats know that the government changes do not represent a final victory. They feel, however, that one battle, a significant one, has been won.

Why Iraqis want unity, not union

LIKE ALL ARABS, Iraqi Arabs feel themselves a part of the Arab nation and are desirous of Arab unity. Most of them, however, strongly oppose union with the United Arab Republic such as was effected between Egypt and Syria. They point out that Egypt's President Nasser himself has said that union was made precipitously and hence involved many unnecessary mistakes.

Iraqis believe federation rather than union is appropriate to the present stage of history. For as Kamal Chaderji put it: "Each country differs from the others and it's very difficult immediately to have one patent for all social, economic and political systems."

Iraqis invariably cite these reasons in this order for wanting federation, not union:

- "We fought for democracy a long time and intend to preserve and broaden it. Iraq has experienced political life and political parties for 50 years. We won't give them up now. A one-party system is against democratic principles."
- The large Kurdish minority: 1.25 million out of 6.5 million people. "The Kurds don't want to be swallowed up in an Arab union. We are all Iraqis." The long-term Kurdish goal is for a Kurdistan Republic, but this awaits liberation of Kurds in Turkey and Iran. In the meantime, Iraqi Kurds welcome the Arab-Kurdish unity and equality proclaimed by the Iraq Republic.
- Iraq's economic backwardness. Iraqis want a chance to catch up. The bourgeoisie do not want to face close competition from the much stronger bourgeoisie of Syria and Egypt.

ANNA LOUISE STRONG'S FIRST DISPATCH FROM PEKING

China: The year of the 'Big Leap Forward'

By Anna Louise Strong
Special to the Guardian

PEKING

IN MY FIRST memorable ten days here I have learned that Peking is a happy, relaxed city, despite the fact that everyone seems to work two shifts a day and that millions turn out to demonstrate against America's "intrusion in the Taiwan Strait." It is a confident city, feeling the pulse of the world's greatest population, one-fourth of mankind, all of whom rejoice like one man in celebrating a magnificent harvest which will more than double last year's.

The Peking Hotel, where I am staying, was built half a century ago for the British colonialists; the Chinese have much enlarged it and offer its Western-style comforts to their foreign guests. My room is enormous, almost 30 by 30, with a big bay window facing south and flooded by autumn sun.

Only a block away is the famous Tien An Men, the Gate of Heavenly Peace, where in olden days the Imperial edicts were thrown over the city wall to be carried to the people, and where now all the people's great demonstrations are held. A couple of blocks in the other direction is the Ghosi Shudian (Foreign Bookstore), where I buy English books and journals and exquisite postcards.

LONG STAY: No sooner was I convinced that Peking offered all facilities for health and comfort than my finances also were assured. A gentleman from a publishing house called upon me and handed me a large check in Chinese "yuan" which he said were my royalties for the Chinese edition of my book **The Stalin Era.** The check was so large that I thought at first they were giving me a subsidy in disguise. Then I noted that the edition ran to 110,000 copies—five times as many as were published in the U.S. It was a paper-bound edition, selling for about 25 cents a copy and they were paying me only a modest author's royalty. But it is enough to live on for several months in Peking.

I violated no American law in coming to Peking—my Chinese friends arranged for me to come without using my American passport, since this is marked not good for travel to China. Nonetheless I know that if I return to the U.S. my passport will be lifted by Mr. Dulles' orders, and I shall not be able to come abroad again. So I think I can tell my friends that my future address will be Hotel Peking for a long, long time, until the American passport rules are changed.

BIG YEAR: The first thing one learns about China is that this is the year of the "Big Leap Forward." It follows a year of the "Rectification Campaign," which included great nation-wide public discussions, in which the Communist press published for weeks all the anti-Communist arguments that were sent in and did not even answer them for a time. Many people were bewildered and some even wavered and asked: Are we going to have socialism or capitalism here?

It is said that some people—and this included the Russians—told Mao he was going too far in permitting, even encouraging, these attacks, and Mao answered: "We do not want a nation of hot-house flowers. The people will think up the answers."

After everyone in the land had had to face personally the question: "Is it socialism I want or not?", the Communists made their answer and released a great pile of workers' and cooperative farmers' letters that had piled up in editorial offices, and that was that. This led right into the "Big Leap Forward" in which all past records are smashed.

Chou En-lai told me, for instance, that whereas last year's food crops (wheat, rice, kaoliang, millet, maize and sweet potatoes) totalled 185 million tons, which gave a quite adequate diet of 6 pounds of grain a day per capita, this year's crop will probably reach 400 million tons, giving a per capita daily ration of 12 pounds, which nobody can eat, so it will be used for fodder, and to make synthetics and plastics.

CONFIDENCE: Similarly steel production, which last year was 5,350,000 tons, is expected to jump this year to 10,700,000, not only by increasing the number and size of big steel mills, but by having thousands and thousands of small blast furnaces built locally on local iron deposits by the county governments and even by the farms. Incidentally, this explains why the Chinese think that, in case of a nuclear war, they will outlast every other country, because every county will have both its own food and metal supply.

This is the source of confidence expressed in the Chinese actions around Quemoy and the Taiwan Strait. Before I came to China I was disturbed lest the shelling of Quemoy might lead into big atomic war. Three years ago China was all set to take Quemoy but America threatened to use the A-Bomb and China drew back her troops. What made the difference now?

My Chinese friends gave me many answers. Said one: "These three years have seen the Bandung Conference and many other events in Asia. Today all Asia and most of the world recognizes our right to those islands, so we think America will not defy the opinion of the whole world and use the A-Bomb."

Another said: "Three years ago we waited for our offshore islands, not because of America's threat but because America's policy was not decided. Your Congress debated our offshore islands and left it to the President. We waited, thinking we would get the islands by right, not by fighting. But now we see that America's appetite keeps growing. Before 1950 Truman said he had no claim to Taiwan; then in 1950 he began to claim Taiwan, and now the Americans have fortified and claim the islands right in our harbors, which interfere with our shipping. America even begins to demand that our naval vessels do not patrol our own coasts, but leave them to the U.S. Seventh Fleet.

"So we see that it is useless to appease America. We must make our stand before they begin to take pieces of our mainland."

MEMBERS OF AN AGRICULTURAL CO-OP IN A NANKING SUBURB
Farm groups like these are now building their own blast furnaces

Neues Deutschland, Berlin
Voice of the Pentagon: "Halt! No aggressive movement against the position of the Western world."

AN UPHILL FIGHT FOR A DIVIDED LABOR MOVEMENT

How the November election shapes up in Australia

By Bill Irwin
Special to the Guardian

MELBOURNE

FIVE MILLION Australians will go to the polls on Sat., Nov. 22, to elect a new Federal Parliament—the 23rd since Australia became a nation 58 years ago.

Prime Minister Robert Menzies will open his campaign next month when he will set out the program of his government. So far government spokesmen have contented themselves with Red-baiting the Labor Party for a few informal L.P.-Communist alliances in trade union elections.

As leader of the Opposition, Dr. Herbert Evatt is expected to offer electors improved social services, housing at low interest rates, and a curb on time-payment companies.

ODDS ON MENZIES: In international affairs Labor, if elected, can be expected to develop an independent foreign policy. It will actively support the UN, oppose adventures such as Suez and Lebanon, recognize China, recall Australian troops from Malaya, and seek to renew diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union suspended since the Petrov affair.

Because of deep confusion in Labor's ranks, the Menzies government is expected to win. But complacency is often shocked on polling day.

The government—in office since 1949—consists of a coalition of the Liberal Party (57 seats in the House of Representatives) and the Country Party (18). The Labor Party has 47 seats.

THE PARTIES: Roughly, the Liberal Party could be described as the party of big business. The Country Party is dominated by big farmers and city firms with interests in the countryside. The L.P., created in the Nineties by the trade unions, has strong support in the working class and wavering support in the middle classes. It has the objective of "democratic socialism" but is not likely to go beyond its immediate program of social welfare within the existing economic structure.

The Australian Communist Party will be running candidates but it has never won a seat in either House, though it polls well in some union elections. Seamen, longshoremen, and many mechanics, railwaymen and other unionists vote for Communists as trade union leaders but not as Members of Parliament.

The remaining party—the Achilles heel of the L.P.—is the Democratic Labor Party, a right-wing breakaway grouping of the Christian Democratic type. With fervent but by no means general Roman Catholic support, the D.L.P. has drained the Labor Party of 27% of its traditional voters.

THE SENATE: Nov. 22 will also see a Senate election, when 32 of the 60 Senate seats will be contested. The seats are now evenly divided between government and non-government parties but after the election the Liberal-Country Party coalition is expected to have a majority of 32 to 28.

In Australia, as in Britain, it is the lower House which provides the government. But a hostile Senate could make government impossible, and the stalemate could lead to a dissolution of both Houses and a new election.

In Australia, voting for the Senate (ten Senators from each State; six-year terms with half the Senators retiring every three years) is by proportional represen-

tation, which enables minority groups to win seats. Thus the D.L.P. may return two or three Senators.

Australia was the first country (in 1856) to give effect to the English Chartist demand for voting by ballot. And voting in Australia is compulsory. The indifferent citizen who neglects to go to the booths on a polling Saturday is liable to a fine unless he can produce a very good excuse.

Doesn't ANYBODY like John Foster Dulles?

THE CINCINNATI COUNCIL ON WORLD AFFAIRS was almost defeated recently in its effort to present both sides of a debate on U.S. policy in the Far East. The Council had invited E. Raymond Wilson, executive secy. of the Friends Committee on National Legislation, to take the critical view. He accepted unhesitatingly.

Then the Rev. Robert O'Brien was asked to find someone to support the Dulles position. The Rev. O'Brien gave up. He reported: "I've never tried so hard in my life to find a speaker as I have in the last two weeks. But I could not find one either available or prepared to defend our foreign policy."

He said the closest he came was one man who said he had two friends who might have spoken if they had time to gather enough material. The meeting opened with one chair empty on the stage. Lacking a Dulles champion, Council President Douglas Hoge presented the government's case. He explained that he had thoughtfully prepared "notes on both sides of the matter."

A PROGRESSIVE PROGRAM FOR PEACE

Israel's position in the Middle East

As the drive for Arab unity makes rapid progress, the future of Israel is becoming an urgent topic of discussion both outside and inside the country.

Beyond the borders of the Midde East, there have been some hopeful signs of eventual Israel-Arab rapprochement. For example, unlike previous peace congresses, the recent Stockholm Congress for Disarmament and International Co-operation was totally free of Arab attacks on Israel. France's Pierre Cot, a severe critic of Israeli policy in the past, told the Congress that the "Israel-Arab conflict can and must be solved . . . by peaceful means."

In behind-the-scenes meetings, Egyptian delegates told Norwegian CP delegate Dr. E. Nissen that they recognized Israel as a fact to which the Arab world could not yet reconcile itself. A Lebanese and a Tunisian delegate expressed admiration for Israel and said that Arab politicians were prisoners of the public they themselves had influenced with their anti-Israel propaganda.

All but one of the 225 Scandinavian delegates joined in a call for "direct negotiations" between Israel and the Arab states. The Congress unanimously adopted a Mapam delegate's amendment favoring the principle of territorial integrity of all states.

In the U. S., a panel of Christian, Jewish and Moslem scholars, brought together by the Institute of Mediterranean Affairs, offered a formula to solve the problems of the Arab refugees. It was a package plan "to repatriate and resettle all the refugees in consecutive stages in the light of an initial trial period," when some will go to Israel and some to neighboring states.

The panelists assumed that not many refugees would want to go to Israel if they have genuine and equal opportunities elsewhere and if they "do not risk losing any of their rights to compensation for property left in Israel." The trial period would indicate what proportion would go to Israel and could become reacclimated.

In the Middle East itself there seemed to be no lessening of Arab hostility toward Israel or of the pro-Western orientation of the Israeli government. However, the Mapam (United Workers) Party on Aug. 1 presented a constructive program in large public meetings on the theme, Israel and Events in the Region.

This program was recently outlined in a Knesset (Parliament) debate by Mapam spokesman Yaakov Riftin. Following are excerpts from Riftin's speech, the full text of which will appear in the next issue of Israel Horizons *(112 Fourth Av., New York 3, N.Y.).*

PEACE WITH the neighboring states is the most important problem of Israel foreign policy . . . What is the policy which can bring Israel nearer to actual peace negotiations? What are the fundamental principles which should guide us if we should ultimately attain these negotiations?

● The road to peace is not the road to war.

To our deep sorrow, we not only have behind us substantial debates in this field ("preventive war" or "liberating actions," etc.) but a significant action: Israel's participation in the war against Egypt (1956-1957). It is true that we explained that Israel was the least guilty among the "three musketeers" who conducted the campaign. Egypt refused peace negotiations with Israel; Israel felt that an attack against her was being prepared; the terrorist infiltrations had not ceased; Israel did not care who owned the Suez Canal, but was concerned with free passage of her ships . . .

But a fact remains a fact: Israel participated in a war whose general aim was to bring about a change in the political lineup in the Middle East by force of arms, both with regard to the internal problems of the region as well as in regard to the interests of the world powers.

The results are known: Not only has the anti-Israel alliance not been weakened, nor have the present dangers not been turned aside, but Israel has had placed before her the danger of a frontal conflict between very powerful international factors.

● The road to peace and "retaliation."

Retaliation by force cannot be prevented forever when your borders are disturbed unceasingly by destructive or terroristic infiltration . . . From this viewpoint we considered certain acts executed by Israel's Defense Army on the borders in previous years as acts of self defense.

But we also witnessed . . . retaliation which in scope or in execution were so out of proportion to the challenge of the other side that they gave the impression

to the world and to Israel that they were part of other plans completely unrelated to specific defense needs.

● Road to peace and border tensions.

From time to time Prime Minister [Ben Gurion] repeats the astounding announcement that "the armistice agreement between Egypt and Israel is dead." Statements of this sort contradict the political interests of the State of Israel.

PALESTINIAN ARAB REFUGEES IN JORDAN
Their problem: repatriation and resettlement

Does Israel have a more important international document upon which to rely in various questions under debate concerning its borders than the Rhodes [armistice] agreements? . . . The government of Israel must do all in its power . . . to lessen border tensions.

● Road to peace and Israel's Arabs.

Under certain conditions Israel's Arab representatives may have great value in the struggle on the international political arena.

First, they must feel themselves as Arab representatives [of] an Arab community fully equal in rights and obligations . . . The essential step in this direction is the abolition of the military administration and its replacement by a democratic civil government in the areas inhabited by the Arabs.

Second, the success of the representatives of the Arab minority in the struggle for peace depends on their understanding and acceptance of the fundamental, over-all point of view of the State of Israel and of the Jewish people.

Third, the Arab fighters for peace must be enabled to feel themselves full partners of the Jewish fighters for peace, so that they do not find themselves in a kind of spiritual-communal ghetto within the State of Israel.

Fourth, the success of the mission of the Arab comrades [requires] a political program which the patriotic Arab can defend no less than the patriotic Jew.

● Religious communities and the struggle for peace.

The land of Israel is a holy land to three great religions . . . If the Ministry of Religions would concern itself less with "saving the souls" of the secular public in Israel and more with [moving] the Moslems firmly in the direction of economic and communal autonomy, [it] would add a lot to the general feeling of well-being of the Arab minority in Israel.

Contact must be sought between the religious leaders of Israel and of the world for the benefit of peace. A call from Jerusalem, the Eternal City, for the halting of atom tests and for the negotiation of a stable world peace would evoke an echo throughout the world. No less valuable would be a call for peace in the Middle East.

● Historic interests of both peoples.

Occasionally some "friend" reminds you with a half-mocking, half-forgiving wink: "Isn't it true that you were once for a bi-national state?" It is precisely so, and we are proud of it. We wanted to prevent a head-on conflict between our people and the Arab people . . . remove the positive and just national aspirations of the two peoples from the maelstrom of bloody events and bloody solutions. We sought a compromise . . . Our program was rejected.

Of course, today there can be no program which would discriminate against or limit Israel's sovereignty. However, we have an uncompromising quarrel with the adventurers who dream of changing the boundaries of Israel with the sword.

Is it truly impossible for the people of Israel and the people of Jordan to dream of an agreement which will preserve the full sovereignty of the two states, but at the same time establish within a federative arrangement rules of firm partnership and mutual aid? . . . A unification such as this could be a link within a much broader federative union with the neighboring Arab countries.

● Arab refugees in the fight for peace.

It must be clear to the Palestinian Arab refugees that only with the coming of peace will there be an end to their suffering and the State of Israel agrees that a part of them will then come to Israel and will be included in the general developments of the state . . . When peace comes, Israel will be ready to receive both Jewish immigration and its share from the refugee camps willingly . . .

● Neutrality and the path to peace.

The many-faceted neutralist sector of Israel demands clear-cut assurances from the government of Israel that it will not become involved in any action which is directly or indirectly against the great powers. This problem is not without meaning after the majority decision in the Cabinet and in the Knesset to identify Israel with the Eisenhower Doctrine. . . . It is also meaningful in the light of the international realities of the Sinai campaign. The sharpness of the debate against a neutralist orientation arouses concern for future developments.

The problem of neutralism has a special meaning in relation to the problem of peace. Neutralism is the banner of all that is good and progressive among the peoples of Asia and Africa . . . A neutralist orientation for Israel would mean the breaking-down of an important wall between Israel and the Asian world. And every such wall which falls creates a better climate for rapprochement between the peoples.

● An international front for peace.

So long as the Great Powers, for their own—mistaken, we believe—interests, refrain from demanding direct peace negotiations from both sides, there is very great importance to attempting to form groups of representatives of smaller states in favor of such direct negotiations . . . The joint statement of neutralist Burma and socialist Rumania foretells good things . . .

● World labor movement and peace.

We view the problems of Jewish-Arab peace as one of the fundamental problems of a much broader national front. Yet there are many enemies of peace and not always is the idea of brotherhood of people a popular one. This underlines the tremendous importance of unshakable loyalty to this idea which can stand up in any test and above all is tested in the smelting furnace of international workers brotherhood . . .

These are the outlines of a program for political action. Certainly, not everything is dependent on us. But if the State of Israel would invest in peace matters as much force, talent, many-sided planning, tactical flexibility and strength-of-resolution as the Defense Army of Israel invests in its security arrangements—perhaps by today new horizons would have opened for us.

Hm-m-m-m!

INDIANAPOLIS, Sept. 29 — Homer T. Vawter, former Mayor of Jeffersonville, Ind., died tonight of a heart attack while attending a Republican fund raising dinner addressed by Vice President Richard M. Nixon. Mr. Vawter, who was 62 years old, suffered his attack while Mr. Nixon was speaking.

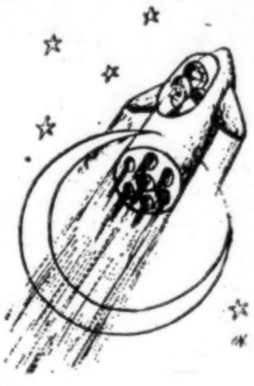
—N. Y. Times, Sept. 30

British novelist cries: 'Hands off the moon!'

The following sentiment, in the form of a letter to the editor of The Times of London, *belongs to A. P. Herbert, the British novelist. We offer it for reading on a moonlit night.*

FOR MANY MONTHS I have been crying, almost alone, "Hands off the moon! Why mutilate the only face that pleases all the human race?" The moon, for many millions, is a venerated thing of beauty, of poetry, and even religion. It belongs to nobody but Mankind. We may use it gratefully for the purposes of navigation, &c.: but no single country should physically molest it for selfish or even alleged "scientific" purposes without the leave of Mankind, which in these days can be requested through the United Nations.

All this, no doubt, to the practical man of "progress," is mere romantic nonsense. But now, I am glad to see, the scientists are on my side. Some think that if a missile hits the moon, by design or accident, it may poison the atmosphere and make it more difficult for man to land on the planet. (That does not worry me at all). Far more alarming is Mr. Chapman Pincher, who writes: "It is also possible that the first missile to strike the moon might cause an explosion. Astronomers suspect that moondust is similar to finely powdered coal in that it contains the chemicals, carbon, oxygen, hydrogen, and nitrogen in an unstable form. Dry coaldust is



Vie Nuove, Rome

a highly explosive mixture. . . ."

Sir, if there is the slightest ground for this "suspicion" is it not an offense against Mankind to fire a missile anywhere near the moon? What would be the result of such an explosion? The moon in flames—two suns — perpetual day — natural life on Earth, deprived of rest and sleep, declining—vast tidal waves drawn up by the two suns flooding twice a month the habitations of men? We cannot tell. But can the rocket-shooters? If not, should they not hold their hands till they have permission from the United Nations, advised by the assembled scientists of the world? Nothing is to be hoped from the great Powers, intent on their ridiculous battle of prestige. But some of the Backward Nations, who have more respect for the heavenly bodies than we have, should raise the question at once.

Most of us are not at all impressed by the "scientific" claims for these pyrotechnical advertisements. We have done very well for many centuries without knowing much about the moon's "magnetic field." What is the hurry? We have no more desire to see the other side of the moon than we have to see the inside of the Earth. Nor are we persuaded that "there must never be a halt in the pursuit of knowledge." What a much happier world it would be if someone had firmly said to those Cambridge fellows: "You leave the atom alone!" Suppose I said to the young about sex: "You can never know enough. Go on. Investigate. Try everything." I should be locked up. But in the sacred name of "science" any madness is permissible. It is time that science, like everything else, was subject to control.

Nor will we swallow the parallel of Columbus. Columbus did not recklessly endanger the Earth, or offend the majority of the human race.

—A. P. Herbert

IT'S ALWAYS APPLE TIME IN THE OLD DOMINION

How Byrd machine rules Virginia

By Louis E. Burnham

STAND AT THE RIGHT SPOT in Winchester or Berryville, Va., and as far as the eye can reach in any direction you'll see nothing but apples. This is the harvest season and more than 200,000 trees in the orchards of U.S. Sen. Harry F. Byrd are heavy with fruit. They produce upward of a million bushels a year and make the Senator the biggest grower east of the Mississippi. In fact, Byrd—with one percent of the nation's crop—has been described by the U.S. Dept. of Agriculture as the biggest individual apple man in the country.

A bank directorship, presidency of a cold-storage company and ownership of two newspapers round out Harry Byrd's most commonly-cited holdings. But perhaps the most valuable property of all is "the organization," the Virginia state Democratic party machine. The Senator runs it with an apple-cheeked geniality and thorough ruthlessness that have long been the envy of the nation's more raucous political bosses.

DISCRIMINATION? SURE! Byrd inherited the machine from the late Sen. Carter G. Glass who had put it together at the turn of the century. The Proper Virginians, shaken by the political challenge of the Readjusters, a local variant of populism, in the Nineties, forced through a new constitution in 1901. The purpose was to keep the vote out of the hands of practically every Negro and all but a handful of whites. The devices were a poll tax and a clause requiring interpretation of the constitution.

When Glass was asked if this was not restricting the electorate by fraud and discrimination, he hotly replied: "By fraud, no; by discrimination, yes. But it will be discrimination within the letter of the law, and not in violation of the law. Discrimination. Why that is precisely what we propose."

And that is exactly what the Glass-Byrd machine has practiced without successful challenge for 57 years. As a result, a smaller percentage of the adult population habitually goes to the polls in Virginia than in any other state, even including Mississippi. In the 1945 election the Byrd machine candidate needed —and got—only 6.2% of the potential adult vote to win the Democratic nomination for governor.

COURT HOUSE GANGS: Such a small electorate is more easily managed than a larger one. Byrd, with a passion for detail, overlooks no aspect of control. About a thousand "rank and file" members of the machine are scattered throughout the state's 100 counties. Through their role in selecting candidates, the machine is assured control of the state legislature. The legislature, in turn, elects the circuit judges whose wide appointive powers guarantee machine control of the court house gangs.

Hallmark of the machine has been financial conservatism regarding the people's social needs and reckless violation of their constitutional rights. The results have been appalling. During World War II, Virginia was the seventh state in the nation in the proportion of its draftees who signed their registration cards with an "X." And of every 1,000 draftees, 456 were physically unfit. Only five states had a higher rejection rate.

ANTI-MACHINE MOVES: The "way of life" which Sen. Byrd seeks to preserve for Virginia through his program of "massive resistance" to school integration would appear to be one in which only a few Virginians, white or Negro, have any real stake.

This is, of course, not a new revelation; anti-machine trends and movements have long been noted in the state. In 1946 they congealed into the first opposition to the candidacy of Boss Byrd himself. In the Democratic primary, Martin A. Hutchinson, a Richmond lawyer, was roundly beaten by the Senator, who first took his seat in 1933; but his campaign at least ended the long-standing habit of regarding Byrd's tenure as a hereditary privilege.

Now the criticism of "massive resistance" is mounting in the state and there are signs, if not of panic, certainly of unease, among the Byrdlings.

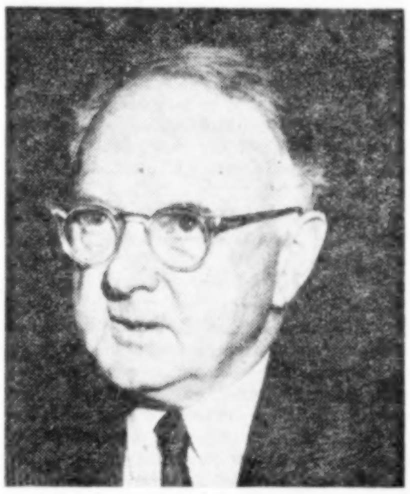
Gov. J. Lindsay Almond's administration has turned almost 13,000 youth out of 13 shut-down schools in order to thwart Federal court integration mandates. Virginians, literally in the thousands—faced with the reality of less education or no education in a state that has never provided enough for their children—are speaking out.

A VITAL NEED: Recently the Norfolk **Virginian-Pilot** carried a full-page ad signed by approximately 1,200 citizens who said: "We the undersigned, believe that public education is vital for the preservation of civic and religious liberty in the United States of America. We are prepared to commit ourselves to non-violent means to insure a peaceable transition to desegregated education." Carl Braden, field secy. of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, estimated the vast majority of signers were white.

In Norfolk also, more than 70 Protestant ministers signed a manifesto calling on the city and state governments to "open our schools immediately." Tom Winniger, captain of the Granby High football team, said almost every member of the team preferred integration to closing the schools and estimated that 80% of all students felt that way.

On Sept. 12 white and Negro students assigned to Norview High School met for the first time at Oakdale Presbyterian Church, Rev. William B. Abbot, pastor. They were joined by some adults and eventually a group more than 60 persons, 20 of whom were Negroes, conducted a panel discussion on integration.

AN EVEN BREAK: In recent months Rev. Abbot has lost about 35 members, and gained the same number, in his 500-member congregation because of his stand. For pro-integration white ministers to "break even" in Byrdland these days is considered by many a step forward. Some of the members who left to join a nearby Presbyterian church were turned away by the neighboring pastor when he learned why they had quit Oakdale. A few drifted back.



HARRY F. BYRD
Discrimination is built in

The Virginia AFL-CIO exec. committee turned out 50,000 pamphlets on the school crisis and contended: "If Virginia is not to become schoolless, the moderates who make up a majority of the state's citizenry, must speak up, organize and challenge the views of their state officials."

A NEW SYNONYM: Perhaps the most outspoken broadside against the Byrd machine to come f om within the state was uttered by a young Alexandria rabbi in his most recent Yom Kippur (Day of Atonement) sermon. Rabbi Emmet A. Frank called "massive resistance" a madness which is the same as "Godlessness, or to coin a new synonym—Byrdliness, which has done more harm to the country than McCarthyism."

The rabbi talked of "evil in our midst in the form of bigots and hate peddlers who, for a headline, a misplaced vote, would attack minority after minority. He called the machine an organization "of a few, chosen by a few to enact law for the many."

In other areas too, formerly silent voices are being heard. It may just be that the movement of Virginia's people to save their schools may be the beginning of a new political day in the Old Dominion state.

Harrington in Pittsburgh Courier

"An' befo we commence our course on 'Modern Horizons in Democracy' we warn all Nigras to keep off this channel. It is fo white students only."

Employment stays down while profits go up

WORKER PRODUCTIVITY in industry has begun a "sharp rise," according to **Business Week** magazine. "The fourth-quarter 1958 level should top by 7% the 1957 figure," the magazine predicted.

This rise in output per man-hour of work, said **Business Week,** is having two effects: "It's reducing unit labor costs and, with companies doing a bigger volume of business, is already boosting profits. It's slowing the rehiring of laid-off workers, creating fewer job openings and keeping unemployment at higher levels than prevailed during earlier post-war recoveries."

Thus the "recovery" so far has brought few new jobs but lots more profits.

—*Labor*, Sept. 27, 1958

BOOKS

Rev. King's own story of Montgomery

QUITE UNEXPECTEDLY, in December, 1955, a young Negro minister, seeking to establish himself in the first pastorate he had ever had, was entrusted with the leadership of a popular mass movement without parallel or precedent in the South. Having but recently assumed the pulpit of Dexter Ave. Baptist Church, Martin Luther King Jr. became president of the Montgomery Improvement Assn. and leader of its successful year-long boycott to win integrated seating on the city buses.

In **Stride Toward Freedom***, Rev. King tells the Montgomery story from the point of view of its most celebrated and influential participant. The book is ably written; it is frequently marked by that simple, uncluttered exposition of ideas and events which characterizes effective preaching.

KING SETS OUT to tell what kind of man he is, what happened on stage and behind the scenes during the Montgomery conflict, and the philosophy of struggle with which he emerged. We are indebted to him for a glimpse of those moments when he faltered in the face of seemingly overwhelming pressure, only to be sustained by the strength of 50,000 Negroes who would not turn back nor permit their leaders to default.

The manner in which unity was forged in a community previously divided by class, denominational and social barriers provides a lesson of great importance. The grow of self-respect, mutual helpfulness and a sense of dignity and common destiny among people whom oppression had taught to abandon all hope is a transformation thrilling to witness, even though vicariously through the pages of a book.

In the period between the May, 1954, Supreme Court integration decision and the Montgomery boycott, these were among the missing elements on the Southern social landscape. The NAACP, geared principally for legal battle, was either poorly equipped or not inclined to galvanize the mass initiative needed to translate integration from law to life.

When Martin Luther King and the MIA succeeded in Montgomery they provided a precedent which inspired other Negro communities and enraged white supremacists everywhere.

THE PRICE OF LEADERSHIP

On Sept. 1 Montgomery police (right) arrested Rev. Martin L. King Jr. Three weeks later he sat in a Harlem store (above) with a letter-opener in his chest.

IT IS NO WONDER then that this young minister has lived in the heady environment of well-meaning but extravagant praise, crude and vicious criticism, and heated debate for the past three years. The Montgomery police arrested him three times; and each time, when the Negro community reacted with greater solidarity than ever, they regretted the arrest. Twice his home has been bombed; the obscene and threatening telephone calls and letters signed "KKK" have been numberless.

Thus, when Izola Ware Curry, a Negro domestic worker, stabbed Rev. King with a seven-inch letter opener as he autographed his book in a Harlem department store on Sept. 20, there was immediate speculation that she was a hireling of her people's worst enemies. Police quickly dismissed the notion with the announcement that Mrs. Curry was merely "incoherent and deranged," but while she underwent psychiatric examination and King recovered from his wound in New York hospitals, the speculation continued.

One school identified Mrs. Curry as an extreme Negro nationalist and found some support for their supposition in the fact that she had heckled Rev. King's reference to cooperation with whites in a mass meeting the night before the stabbing. Another noted that she had previously written letters to the FBI, that she railed against the "Communists" and that she carried in her purse a hand-sized automatic pistol manufactured in Italy and used by underground agents of the West in Eastern European nations, and concluded: she must have been working for some official intelligence agency.

Rev. King for his part, expressed forgiveness for his attacker and highlighted again the philosophy with which he concludes his book and which is likely to be the source of controversy for some time to come.

KING IS A philosophical idealist. He borrows, to the extent which his knowledge and experience permit, from the treasures of materialist political and social science and so his viewpoint is an eclectic one. Its main mooring, however, is in theology and in the Gandhian theses of non-violent resistance. "In the final analysis," he says, "the problem of race is not a political but a moral issue."

Rev. King's "final analysis" is doubtful, though space does not here permit an analysis of it. Nevertheless, this book reveals that he is a man at the beginning of his service and with a considerable capacity for candor and for growth. It is to be hoped that these qualities may confirm and enrich the talent for leadership he has already demonstrated.

—Louis E. Burnham

**STRIDE TOWARD FREEDOM: The Montgomery Story, by Martin Luther King Jr. Harper & Brothers, 49 E. 33rd St., New York 16, N.Y. 230 pp. $2.95.*

China's terms

(Continued from Page 1)

nary not only supported this move but stressed that the key issue was "the recognition of the Communist Government of China." They added:

"The vigor and development of the Communist states of China and Russia are hard facts of the contemporary world. Before the U.S. resigns itself to . . . a mutual war of destruction, the government must exhaust the possibilities of living with them."

Nathaniel Peffer, authority on the Far East and professor emeritus of international relations at Columbia, also urged negotiations and said: "We have got to persuade Chiang to evacuate Quemoy and Matsu, leaving Taiwan in its present status, to be settled as the cold war is settled." He warned: "Delay may mean world war and night falling on the Western World."

POLITICAL AIMS: Columnist Walter Lippmann said that Peking holds "the military initiative at Quemoy [and] can turn on the bombardment or turn it off, as if it were a water tap." He said the political objectives of the cease-fire were: (1) U.S. "disengagement in the offshore islands"; (2) negotiations with "the U.S. at Warsaw about the specifically Chinese-American issues"; (3) convincing "the Chinese in Taiwan that their future lies with the mainland and not in continuing to be a client of the U.S."

The last objective should not be too difficult to achieve if U.S. intelligence reports are reliable. The **Times** said last week that according to such reports, some of "Chiang's associates are less determined than he to fight on, not interested at all in the 'two Chinas' prospect, which implies permanent exile from the mainland, and much tempted by deals secretly proposed by the Communists."

On a CBS-TV program Oct. 12 India's Defense Minister Krishna Menon also hinted at behind-the-scenes discussions between influential people on Taiwan and on the mainland.

Eccles in London Worker

"Never mind, old chap, here are some of the millions you speak for."

CHIANG WANTS BLOOD: Chiang was aware of efforts to pull the rug out from under him. On Oct 10 he said he was worried not by the possibility that Peking's forces "may again attack [Quemoy] but that they may dare not attack again." "If they should enlarge the scope of hostilities," he added hopefully, "they would invite concerted action by the free world's anti-aggression force and this concerted attack would hasten the end of the Chinese Communists."

The nightmare that still haunted the world was Chiang's desperate attempt to precipitate a world war by such provocative acts as sending Sabre jets over the mainland and, as the **Times** said, teasing "the MIG's into aerial combat and inviting pursuit."

Despite appearances to the contrary, Secy. Dulles might be quite happy if Chiang managed to torpedo the Warsaw negotiations this way, even as Dulles himself torpedoed the London disarmament negotiations when Harold Stassen appeared on the verge of success.

IN THE UNITED NATIONS

Disarmament debate centers on ban of nuclear bomb tests

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

WITH OPENING ADDRESSES out of the way, the 81-member UN Political Comimttee last week plunged headlong into a bitter debate on the various aspects of disarmament. A full-scale debate over banning nuclear weapons tests seemed to be shaping up with the news that Moscow was preparing more tests, and with the submission of test ban resolutions by both the Soviet Union and India.

On Oct. 3, Moscow announced that it was resuming "experimental tests" because Washington and London had failed to follow its lead in suspending tests last Spring. At a UN press conference on Oct. 7, on the eve of his departure for Moscow, Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko said his country wanted to acquire parity with tests conducted by the U.S. and Britain.

TESTING RACE: Gromyko's answers to questions at his press conference did not indicate definitely that Moscow was actually going through with the more than 100 explosions necessary to catch up with the Western powers. Some observers felt that Moscow, by its announcement, was underscoring the dangers of sharply increased radiation in order to build up support for its UN resolution, submitted on Oct. 5.

The resolution called on "all states carrying out tests of [nuclear] weapons to discontinue such tests immediately

Grant in Oakland Tribune
The delicate balance

[and] enter into negotiations with the object of concluding an appropriate agreement among themselves." Gromyko explained that UN approval of such a resolution would favorably affect the U.S.-U.S.S.R.-Britain test ban conference, to begin Oct. 31 at Geneva.

India was evidently worried by the prospects of a three-power race for completing as many test explosions as possible before the Oct. 31 Geneva conference. Aware that France was also proceeding with test plans and West Germany was hungrily eyeing nuclear weapons, India's Defense Minister Krishna Menon submitted a more comprehensive resolution in an effort to prevent adding to the ranks of the nuclear powers.

INDIA'S PLAN: This resolution called on present nuclear powers to halt all tests immediately; urged all others "to desist" from planning tests; hoped that the Geneva conference would work out a test ban control program as quickly as possible and report to the UN so that the UN Assembly "may take steps forthwith, thereafter, to extend the operation of the agreement to all states."

The U.S. countered by suggesting suspension of tests during the Geneva conference, and refused to agree to giving priority to a discussion of nuclear test suspension or to separate the test ban from the disarmament package.

MID-EAST PULL-OUT: East-West disagreement also flared up over UN Secy. Gen. Dag Hammarskjold's report on his Middle East mission, undertaken as a result of last August's UN resolution. Hammarskjold was instructed to make "practical arrangements" for the observance of the provisions of the UN Charter in that area and for the withdrawal of U.S. and British troops from Lebanon and Jordan.

He reported he had appointed Pier P. Spinelli as a special UN representative to be stationed in Jordan to "assist in the implementation" of the Arabs' pledge to respect the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Middle Eastern states. He also planned to appoint a roving UN representative "to visit various governments" as a Middle East trouble shooter.

Hammarskjold said the U.S. has agreed to withdraw its troops from Lebanon by the end of October, barring some new crisis, and Britain has agreed to start pulling out of Jordan this month.

WALK-OUTS: The socialist nations and some Arab states found unsatisfactory the uncertain prospect of troop withdrawal and said they would insist on further debate on this issue. Noting that some Arab delegates continued to make violent anti-Israeli speeches at the UN, Israel's Foreign Minister Mrs. Golda Meir urged Hammarskjold to specify that "respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty" of Middle Eastern states should apply to Israel as well.

Vigorous debate was also expected as the UN took up the issue of South Africa's annexation of the trust territory of Southwest Africa and the newly set up Algerian Provisional Government. As the debate on Southwest Africa began, the South African delegate strode out of the meeting after telling the UN Trusteeship Committee to mind its own business. France declared it would boycott any debate on Algerian independence.

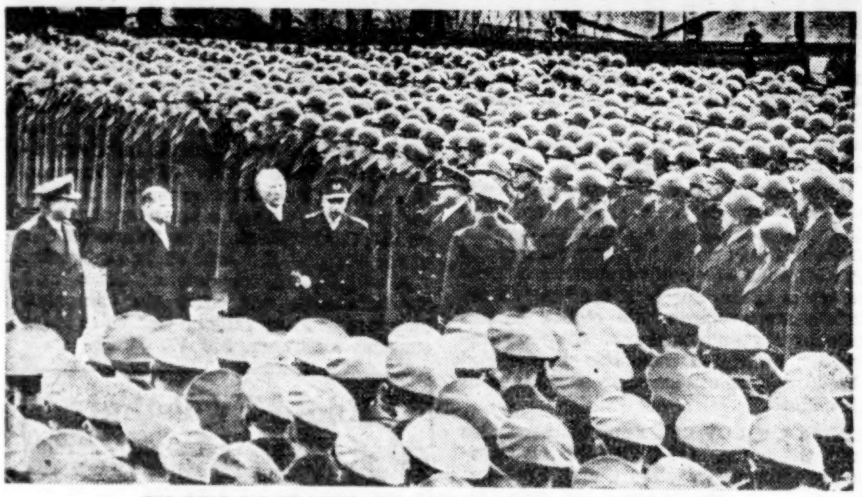
BALANCE OF POWER: The 28 Asian-African nations, although split on a number of issues, demonstrated cooperation and cohesion on questions involving colonial freedom and economic aid. With Ghana's promise to sponsor UN membership for Guinea—which voted for independence during the Sept. 28 French plebiscite—and with Nigeria, Somaliland and other colonial territories edging closer to UN membership, the Asian-African group loomed as potentially the bloc holding the balance of power in the UN.

This has apparently not been lost on the U.S. State Dept., which was reported making a special study of the long-range implications for Washington of the increasing Asian-African membership. Adoption of substantive resolutions in the UN General Assembly require a two-thirds vote, and the U.S. has been encountering increasing difficulties in corraling enough votes for its position.

Secy. Dulles was said to be particularly worried over this situation, and his worries increased when the Soviet Union promptly recognized the independent State of Guinea. Washington seemed to be in for yet another agonizing reappraisal as the UN more and more takes up issues involving Asian-African affairs.

—**Kumar Goshal**

Rude pravo, Prague
Volkswagen, 1958



ON THE DOORSTEP TO THE WORLD OF SOCIALISM
A remilitarized West Germany bristles with war talk

BELFRAGE HEADS EAST

Socialist nations taking Quemoy crisis in stride

By Cedric Belfrage

Cedric Belfrage is now in Tashkent, to cover the Asian-African Writers' Conference and report on latest developments in the central Asian Soviet republics.

MOSCOW

THE COMPARATIVE CALMNESS of the Russians in the midst of the dynamite-laden Quemoy crisis, is the main impression of a short stay here. For one thing, the brisk and brilliant autumn weather is too good not to be wholeheartedly enjoyed. The streets swarm with snugly dressed people shopping for flowers, grapes, watermelons and books at the stalls beneath russet-and-gold trees. As always, after a year's absence one is surprised by the increase in quantity and quality of new housing and goods in the shops. The people feel their strength as a nation, and if they voice complaints much more loudly each time one returns, that in itself is a token of growing strength.

They are still irritated and bewildered by Washington policies, to put it mildly. But the distinctions they have always made verbally between the U.S. government and people is becoming more clearly understood. Press and public comment on Taiwan is far less strident than in the Lebanon-Jordan and other crises. A newspaper editor explained: "There is a general feeling that American policy has now sunk to such moral depths that the whole world condemns it and there is no need to stress it constantly." Everyone takes it for granted that the U.S.S.R. will stand by its Chinese ally.

Muscovites are impressed by the fact that more and more Americans each year are unwilling to accept nonsense about the U.S.S.R. and come to see for themselves. U.S. tourists who come here have made a good impression. Russians likewise want to see America as it really is, and tourism in the other direction is beginning. Growing cultural exchanges, and especially the Eric Johnston deal for exchange of U.S. and Soviet films (**Oklahoma, Twelve Angry Men, Farewell to Arms, Kwai** and **The Key** are to be shown here), cause widespread satisfaction.

IN EAST GERMANY: It is natural that the increasing bellicosity of West Germany causes concern in the countries overrun by the Nazis. Yet from Berlin to Moscow one finds steady nerves in face of this, resulting from consciousness of the socialist world's strength.

This is especially noteworthy in East Berlin, where the resurrected ogre of German militarism sits right across the street. When I arrived in Berlin on the way here, the glories of Hitler's Wehrmacht had just been re-evoked by Gen. Heusinger, ex-Nazi "general inspector" of the new West German army, in a speech about "a coming war" to be fought by implication in "the wide expanses of Russia." He added: "Let us carry out in the future the old principles, those principles which we used to have." Army inspector Gen. Roettiger, Guderian's former chief of staff, had been dwelling affectionately on the "successes of the German [Nazi] army," and "conjuring up memories of Dunkirk for his Allied listeners" at a conference after W. German army maneuvers.

A MAJOR DELUSION: Citizens and officials of the German Democratic Republic are not disposed to underestimate the seriousness of West German re-nazification, but on the whole seem confident in the future of their state. A high official, pacing before a window through which Berlin's "free world" sector was visible 200 yards away, expressed the view that German re-unification had become virtually impossible, although the GDR was and would remain ready for some form of federation. He thought that the ludicrous division of Berlin might well last for another ten years; they did not like it but were prepared to live with it.

West Germany's primary delusion was that the U.S.S.R. would give way to avoid world war: 'They are trying to get what they want without being dead — a very tricky game, but it won't work."

The closeness of the enemy is held to justify continuation in the GDR of rigid ideological "discipline"; and this in turn is responsible for desertions to the West. These—though recently more publicized than ever by Western propagandists—are on the decline. The physical act of "passing over" in Berlin could not be more simple: there was no sort of inspection on the east-west city subway when I rode on it.

GOODS PLENTIFUL: Almost anything can now be bought at reasonable prices in the East sector shops. A Leipzig "Sears Roebuck" firm offers prompt pay-the-postman delivery of a great variety of catalogued clothing, equipment and household wares. Men's shirts are listed from 9 to 24 marks, overcoats at 138 marks, upholstered armchairs at 250; shoes have just been reduced with prices ranging from 20 to 50. Monthly pay for an unskilled worker averages 400, for a secondary journalist 800. In plentifulness and cheapness of consumer goods the GDR is better off than the U.S.S.R.

Defections to the West are hitting the GDR most seriously in the area of intellectuals, especially doctors, although they can often earn more in the GDR than in the West.

Berlin is the only city in the world offering its citizens a choice between a capitalist and a socialist TV program. In the East sector the two programs are regarded as about equal in quality, but the Western news program is more timely and hence more popular. East-sector viewers have learned to take its propaganda with appropriate quantities of salt.

Independent party

(Continued from Page 1)

wish to go through the futile gesture of writing in names—for representatives other than those of their choice. The denial of a place on the ballot constitutes a deprivation of the franchise.

"The complaints against the Independent-Socialist Party are also open to question because they are made by the Democratic Party before the Democratic Party leader who holds the office of Secretary of State. Surely if the I-SP statements are accurate, the objections are pettifogging and picayune. They are unworthy of the Democratic Party and should not be condoned by the State of New York."

ABUSE OF POWER: Support came also from the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee whose director Clark Foreman called DeSapio's action "not only an abuse of his powers but a threat to the democratic process." Henry Abrams, chairman of the United Independent-Socialist Campaign Committee said:

"Such legalistic pettifogging involving 23 of our 27,000 signatures shows how great must be De Sapio's fear that his candidates, Harriman, Hogan and Crotty, are not up to the standards of the independent-thinking voters who see not legalistic tricks but peace, civil rights and an end to the recession as the issues in the election."

Abrams called for protests from "every democratic American" to Gov. Harriman "on this arbitrary action of his Secretary of State."

400 AT RALLY: The Albany ruling and the ensuing court action failed to slow the campaign. Last week an enthusiastic audience of 400 filled the Fraternal Clubhouse in New York to hear the standard bearers Corliss Lamont for Senator and John T. McManus for Governor, Dr. Annette Rubinstein for Lieutenant Governor, Scott K. Gray Jr. for Attorney General and Capt. Hugh Mulzac for Controller. GUARDIAN editor James Aronson in a speech linked the independent fight for socialism with the tenth anniversary of the GUARDIAN. Myra Tanner Weiss of the Socialist Workers' Party also spoke.

A stepped-up schedule of radio and TV broadcasts will carry the campaign up to the wind-up rally on Oct. 30 at Palm Gardens Ballroom, 306 W. 52 St.

Radio-TV listing

HERE IS THE SCHEDULE of radio and TV appearances of New York's Independent-Socialist candidates as arranged thus far:

SAT., Oct. 18, 1:30-2:30 p.m.: Corliss Lamont and opposing senatorial candidates interviewed by the League of Women Voters; "Meet Your Candidates," WCBS-TV, Channel 2.

SUN., Oct. 19, 5-5:30 p.m.: John T. McManus, candidate for Governor, interview; WOR-Radio, 710 kc.

WED., Oct. 23, 11:15 p.m.: Corliss Lamont; Tex & Jinx Show, WOR-Radio, 710 kc. (Changed from Oct. 15).

In addition, WNEW-Radio, 1130 kc., on its "People's Choice" program, 9:35-10 p.m. nightly, will broadcast statements by Lamont vs. other senatorial candidates on Oct. 19-20-21-22-24; and McManus statements Oct. 26-27-28-30 and Nov. 2.

CORLISS LAMONT — JOHN T. McMANUS

The battle for the ballot now goes to court

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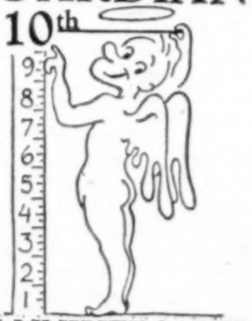

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LOS ANGELES

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RICHARD YAFFE
UN correspondent, editor of ISRAEL HORIZONS

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"WHAT I SAW IN RUSSIA"
A. J. MUSTE—Prominent Pacifist & Socialist, just returned from Russia—will speak **THURS., OCT. 23**, 8 p.m. Hamilton Hotel, 20 S. Dearborn St. Flemish Rm., 3rd floor. American Forum for Socialist Education.

DETROIT

Sponsored by **FRIDAY NIGHT SOCIALIST FORUM.** A talk and discussion on "The Formosa Crisis."
Speaker: **Robert Himmel Jr.,** Socialist Workers Party candidate for Secretary of State.
Place: Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Av.
Time: Friday, Oct. 24, 8 p.m.

MINNEAPOLIS

SOCIALISM ON THE AIR
William M. Curran, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator from Minnesota, will appear on KSTP-TV, Sat., Oct. 18, 12:45 p.m. — WTCN Radio: Tues., Oct. 21, 8:15 p.m. to 8:30 p.m.

LOS ANGELES

WELCOME HOME CELEBRATION
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Fri., Oct. 24, 8:30 p.m. at the Phyllis Wheatley Home, 1415 S. Manhattan Place (nr. Pico Blvd.) A musical program, impressions and observations of their trip by guests of honor, refreshments. Contribution $1. Sponsored by The American Jewish Choral Society, L.A. Jewish Currents Committee.

DELLA ROSSA: "The Beat Generation & Its Literature." Fri., Oct. 24, 8:15 p.m. 1702 E. 4 St. Auspices: INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

URGENT, ATTEND! Foreign policy meeting. **HEAR**—Reuben W. Borough, Martin Hall, Herbert Rosenfeld in **"Socialist Answer to Our Bi-Partisan War Policy!"** I.L.W.U. Hall, 5625 So. Figueroa, Thur., Oct. 30. Ausp: United Socialist Political Action Committee.

OAKLAND

HYMAN LUMER, Marxist Economist, Education Director, C.P.U.S.A., "Which Way the Economy—Boom, Bust or Stagnation?" Sat., Oct. 25, 8 p.m., United Nations Hall, I.L.W.U. Bldg., 160 Grand Av., Oakland. 50c don. for Peoples World.

NEW YORK

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SOCIAL TO FOLLOW
Benjamin Brown, President—M.C. Fri., Oct. 17, 8:30 p.m. at Polonia Club, 201 2nd Av. (12 St.) Contribution $1.

MILITANT LABOR FORUM opens celebration of 30th **ANNIVERSARY** of founding of THE MILITANT with **a DINNER,** Sat., Oct. 18, 7 p.m., 116 University Place. Program at 8:30 p.m. Special feature: **FARRELL DOBBS,** national secretary, Socialist Workers Party, will report on his recent tour of Europe as correspondent for THE MILITANT. Reservations, write or phone, Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Pl., N.Y.C. 3, AL 5-7852. Cont. $1.50, — program only, $1.

ART EXHIBIT—Sat., Oct. 18, beginning 2 p.m. The participating artists are friends of The German American. Polonia Club, 201 2nd Av., bet 12 & 13 Sts. Auspices: German American Inc. Subscription 50c.

THE SUNDAY FORUM PRESENTS
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GEORGE LAVAN, Socialist educator, Militant staff writer, will speak on "Little Rock & School Desegregation." Effect of Supreme Court ruling on the struggle, strategy of the Negroes, strategy of the rascists, perspective for integration in other Southern states. In addition, Eye-Witness Report of Student March on Washington. Questions & Discussion. Sun., Oct. 26, 8 p.m., 116 University Place. Cont. 50c. Auspices Militant Labor Forum.

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THE GALLERY

ELEANOR WHEELER REPORTS from Prague that Dr. and Mrs. DuBois are getting the red carpet treatment in Czechoslovakia. They were greeted at the airport by representatives of the Peace Committee, the Ministry of Education, Czechoslovak Radio, Bishop Novak, several lesser government officials and GUARDIAN correspondents George and Eleanor Wheeler. Mrs. Wheeler says the DuBoises both appear very hale and hearty and they will need their strength to stand under the numerous broadcasts, receptions, dedications, the Czechs have planned for them.

Dr. DuBois' wit impressed the Czechs. Over toasts at a reception, a Czech official suggested the DuBoises make Prague their home. "Oh, no," answered Dr. DuBois, "I can't leave the United States; the whole country would go smash if I stayed away."

Mrs. Wheeler says that even waiters at the hotel realize they are hosts to a great world figure. At the hotel restaurant a special seat is kept vacant because they know "it's the doctor's favorite."

World transportation being what it is, the Wheelers boarded a streetcar in Prague for the airport at the same time the DuBoises got on a jet in Paris: both parties reached Prague Airport at the same time.

Mrs. Wheeler adds a note of protest on "the brush-off Cedric Belfrage's article on the Brussels Fair gave to the Czechoslovak exhibit which brought home a couple of dozen prizes." For the record: Belfrage's story was not meant as a comprehensive view. It was an attempt to compare the Russian and American pavilions and give a general flavor of the Fair grounds. But in justice to the Czechoslovak exhibit, which we visited, it was, in our opinion, the most creative and imaginative at the Fair.

PRODUCERS OF THE "LASSIE" TV show have muted the opening bars of their theme song. Someone discovered that the first four notes of Lassie's theme are also the first notes of **The Internationale.** . . . A man in West Milton, Pa., is suing Liggett and Myers Tobacco Co. for $750,000. He claims smoking their cigarets gave him lung cancer. . . . Three years ago Ake Wiking, a Swedish seaman, tosssed a beer bottle from his ship near Gibraltar. In it was a note asking "any girl between 16 and 20" to send her picture. An angler in Sicily found the bottle and sent a picture of his 15-year-old daughter. Last week Wiking and the daughter were married in Sicily. . . . Last month at a Democratic party regional conference in Salt Lake City, during a discussion of civil defense, Sen. Clinton Anderson was asked: "Suppose that the Russians come over and drop atomic bombs on the United States, where do I go?" Anderson answered: "That depends on what kind of a life you led."

London Daily Mirror
"Have you anything to take one's mind off the film?"

A WEST COAST OIL COMPANY has set up an emergency hide-out in case of war. It is completely outfitted down to name-plated desks for executives. . . . A Detroit judge last week ruled that the city's Arts Commisssion had no right to bar Pete Seeger from singing in the Art Institute Auditorium. Seeger was scheduled to perform there on Oct. 18 under the auspices of the Detroit Labor Forum. Commission officials stepped in and barred the use of the hall because they said he was "a controversial figure." With the aid of the American Civil Liberties union, the Forum took the matter to court, but in the meantime booked Dairy Workers Hall, 15840 Second Blvd., for this year's concert. In the future they plan to schedule Seeger at the Auditorium. . . . Emir Fahed ben Abdel Aziz, Saudi Arabian Minister of Education and brother of King Saud, last week gave his 18-year-old bride $275,000 worth of jewelry, 300 Christian Dior dresses and $40,000 in cash as his "first present." He gave her family six American limousines. Their wedding dinner consisted of 20 roasted lambs, 32 turkeys and other delicacies. Friends insist it was a love match.

—**Robert E. Light**

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the SPECTATOR

Jackass socialism

MONDAY, OCTOBER 5, WAS A BRIGHT DAY in Johnson City, Tex. In a high-riding open car that day Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson, a .22 rifle by his side, rode through his vast acres inspecting fat cows with the LBJ brand. Occasionally he raised his .22 and brought down a plump dove.

The power and the glory, you say; the picture of free-enterprise Texas coupled with American know-how that can develop only under our way of life, as we know it. How easily fooled some people are.

But others know. That same day a group of Republican statesmen, grown heavy in the haunch in the service of their country, sat down to what we can only assume to be a Spartan lunch in the White House to determine how to bring the truth to the nation. Not only about this dissembling Texan, but another Texan named Sam Rayburn, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and their like in the Democratic Party.

After the luncheon the President led his flock to the north portico for pictures. Some of the statesmen, burdened with their responsibility, lagged back. "Hey, where are you fellows?" said the President, anxious to have the formalities done with so that he might retire to the green solitude of Burning Tree for contemplation.

THEN MEADE ALCORN, the Republican national chairman, stepped forward and gave it to the American people straight between the eyes. He read a joint statement adopted at the lunch conference. "The alternatives to a Republican victory in 1958 are clear," he said. He paused, grimly pushed his heavy-rimmed glasses back on his nose, and went on:

Herblock in Washington Post
"Fine—now all we need is some candidates named McKinley."

"Either we Americans dedicate ourselves to strengthening and preserving private enterprise, using the only dependable political instrument available — the Republican Party—or we are certain to go down the left lane which leads inescapably to socialism."

The vehicle for a suicidal ride down that lane, he said, was the Democratic Party, "dominated by certain politico-labor bosses and left-wing extremists . . . the price controllers, the forces of regimentation [seeking to direct] all of America from bureaucratic command posts."

"Private enterprise and individual initiative, as we know them, could not survive such a climate," he said. "Nationalization, socialization of industry would inevitably follow. All of us would become pawns of a super state."

As he finished, white-faced reporters asked: How did the President feel about this? Alcorn smiled the smile of a man with faith in the Leader: "I have never seen the President in more fighting or hard-hitting form," he said. But of course, he added, he could not associate the President with any expressed approval of the conference declaration.

THE NEXT DAY CERTAIN DUPES of the Kremlin, such as James Reston of the N.Y. **Times**, wondered out loud why, if Johnson and Rayburn and their Party were such a menace, had the President kept calling them constantly last session of Congress, thanking them profusely for their help in furthering his Crusade. Other fellow-traveling columnists, employing Aesopian terms to confuse the electorate as to the real issues, noted that those portions of the Eisenhower program which had passed Congress were carried by an alliance of Republicans and southeastern Democrats.

A further attempt at obfuscation was made by the N.Y. **Post**, a publication which, it has been whispered in the bar of the National Press Club, is controlled by international banking circles known to have a hand in financing the Bolshevik Revolution.

"Frankly," said the **Post** with disarming double-meaning, "we wish there were just a little nourishing stock in this absurd luncheon stew that Alcorn has served up. But alas, we fear that the Democratic Party has few such things in mind. Like the GOP, it remains a two-headed animal, meandering listlessly down the middle of a road while history races on."

BUT DISCERNING AMERICANS, unable to forgive or to forget "the grief" of the New Deal years, as Alcorn put it, know that a specter is haunting America, masquerading as a genial jackass. Dwight Eisenhower knows this—a lonely figure on the fairway, swinging a contemplative niblick as he racks his mind for ways to stem the tide. Nelson Rockefeller, the Republican candidate for governor of New York, knows this, as he moves with blintzes and a people's salami, to comfort the threatened ones on New York's Lower East Side.

And Lyndon Johnson, better than anyone, knows this, as he rides his acres, humming "Goodbye, Old Paint," and marking his cows for takeover by the nationalized meatpacking industry—of which he will be the Comrade Czar.

—James Aronson